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The final report prepared for
The City of Hamilton

Mayor's Race Relations Committee
and
Committee for Conscience
in Broadcasting

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**"CHML Talk Shows:
Patterns of Prejudice"**

August, 1994

(Data taken from radio broadcasts of AM 900 CHML,
Hamilton, Ontario, Canada)

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Executive Summary

This study was undertaken to respond to concerns expressed by members of the Hamilton Community that the CHML Radio Station was promoting and encouraging intolerance toward identifiable minorities in the community. In order to address this concern an analysis of the Station's two Talk Show programs "Talk Line" and "John Hardy Today" was conducted to establish whether or not there was any substance to the aforementioned claims.

The following research question was therefore developed and utilized in this study:

Is there evidence of prejudice and racism in the representation of identifiable minorities or in the presentation of issues that concern minorities (especially racial and ethnic minorities) in the Talk Show broadcasts of CHML Radio?

Subsequently two samples of the programs were collected. Sample I was conducted on a random basis by members of the Committee for Conscience in Broadcasting and the Mayor's Race Relations Committee. Several members, in response to community complaints, undertook to monitor and record segments from the CHML talk shows from March 17 to April 30. This sample consists of randomly selected tape recorded shows that either discuss minorities or issues that may be of concern to minorities (ie. employment equity). The purpose in gathering this sample was to determine if

there was any substance to the complaints and subsequently if further structured research would be warranted.

After determining that further research was needed, a second sample was collected by this researcher. Sample II covers a time frame from May 9, 1994 until May 27, 1994, excluding the May 23 holiday and May 24, due to illness of the researcher. Therefore we are working with thirteen working days of broadcasting within a three week period. Both of the above mentioned Talk Shows were taped whenever the topics were relevant to minority communities in Ontario.

Findings

Balance

To answer the main research question the researcher employed the method of content analysis in examining the two samples. We measured the balance of the broadcasts through the variety of voices and the range of topics that dealt with minorities.

In terms of the variety of voices heard on CHML Talk Shows, we can only conclude that the Station is inconsistent. The actual topic and on whose show the topic is presented influences the balance on CHML.

In terms of the range of topics heard on CHML Talk Shows, we can conclude that minorities are overwhelmingly represented in a negative manner. Minority issues are portrayed as almost always controversial, centering around 'problems' and 'demands' for rights.

Patterns of Prejudice

The second way we measured the data for evidence of prejudice and racism, was through an examination of the data for patterns of prejudice. There are many different types of prejudice, where one group or individual has preconceived or biased forms of thinking and/or behaving toward another individual or group which are not based in fact (Ginzberg, 1985). These patterns include:

- 1). Negative Stereotypes.
- 2). Defense Mechanisms.
- 3). The incitement of Fear and Hatred.

Under each category the researcher found evidence of these patterns across Sample I and II from CHML broadcasts. This clearly shows that prejudice and racism were not merely isolated events but a series of events over the time frame of the samples.

In all fairness, it must be mentioned that Guests, Callers and at times even the Hosts, presented alternative perspectives or "the other side" of the issue. Also it should be mentioned that many positive things were said about minorities; however, these exceptions do not negate the presence of the patterns of prejudice.

Introduction

This study of the content and balance of CHML Radio Talk Show Broadcasts was initiated in response to a variety of concerns and complaints from the Hamilton Community. Over the past few years the CHML Radio Station has been accused of being "divisive" and "abusive", as well as promoting and encouraging intolerance toward identifiable minorities in the community. An investigation of the Station's Talk Shows was therefore undertaken in order to establish whether or not there was any substance to the aforementioned claims.

A substantial literature exists within academia as to the role the mainstream, white media plays in the problem of racism and prejudice in Western society (Allport, 1954; Ginzberg, 1985; Rubin, 1980; Schary, 1970; van Dijk, 1987; van Dijk, 1993). Much of this research concludes that the mainstream media, whether radio, television and newspapers can and often does reproduce prejudice in society. "It does not simply mimic or mediate the power of the political and corporate elites. It has its own power domain in the power structure and actively contributes to the legitimation of white group dominance" (van Dijk, 1993: 279).

Given the abundance of research evidence on these issues, it is reasonable to ask whether or not the Hamilton Radio Station,

CHML, is also contributing to the reinforcement of prejudice. The actual research question is therefore as follows:

Is there evidence of prejudice and racism in the representation of identifiable minorities or in the presentation of issues that concern minorities (especially racial and ethnic minorities) in the Talk Show broadcasts of CHML Radio?

Although primarily concerned with the representation of racial and ethnic minorities, this study is also concerned with the representation of other minorities that have suffered discrimination. These "designated" groups include, but are not limited to, Women, 'disabled' people, Francophones, Aborigines and Homosexuals.

At this point it is also important to stress that this study was not undertaken lightly and in no way advocates censorship or infringement of media freedoms. What it does advocate is balanced and informed debate of important societal issues. This position does not mean that everyone must have the same opinion on any issue but it does mean that a variety of voices and perspectives should be heard in accordance with the media's own self-proclaimed "objective" stance. The media has certain freedoms but it also has responsibilities which are set out in the Broadcasting Act and its Regulations; these include providing a balance of information to the Communities they purportedly serve.

It should be noted that Talk Shows are not merely the forum for the personal opinions of the hosts, guests or callers to the show: Talk Shows are not editorials. They are presented as

forums for the discussion of important social issues or current affairs of the day, and as a source of entertainment and information. Thus it is imperative that all sides of an issue are discussed and that a variety of substantiated information be presented in order to preserve the balance and "objectivity" of the programming. As such this study examines the content of the CHML Talk Shows for "patterns of prejudice" as well as the "variety of voices" heard and the topics discussed for evidence of balance in relation to identifiable minorities.

Methodology

Content analysis is a social research method appropriate for studying human communications (Babbie, 1983). It is concerned mostly with discovering patterns of communication that occur over a period of time. The method concentrates on quantifying items, or counting the frequency with which an item occurs within the given text of study. However, content analysis also "sets out to characterize, to condense and elucidate the content, to bring out the essentials or point out certain typical characteristics" (Findahl and Hoijer, 1981: 111). Therefore content is examined in this methodology not only through the itemization of words and clauses, but also through the qualitative demonstration of patterns and themes (Ginzberg, 1985).

Instead of words or clauses being simply counted, entire sections of text can be classified under codes. Excerpts or blocks of the text are utilized in order to describe or demonstrate the codes of analysis. The advantage to this method is that it attempts to avoid the problem of taking particular words out of context, as well as allowing for more sophisticated definitions in coding. For instance, instead of simply counting the number of racial slurs that occur in a radio segment transcript as an indication of racism, one can also look for a "pattern of racism". These are patterns that promote a positive

image of whites in contrast to a negative or subordinate image of non-white minorities.

The following study utilizes both quantitative and qualitative content analysis. In order to investigate balance in broadcasting, the frequency of minorities appearing as either guests or experts to voice their viewpoint is analyzed. Some may argue that the frequency of minority callers should also be included, however there are two serious problems with this position.

First, we are trying to measure whether or not the Radio Station demonstrates or presents prejudicial or racist representations and to do so we must examine that over which they have direct control. The Station has control over who appears as guests and experts. Callers, on the other hand, randomly phone the shows and therefore the radio station has no direct control over this population¹.

Secondly, even if the radio station did screen or control callers in some way, it would be extremely difficult to prove if these callers were actually part of the minority group that they claim to be. Therefore it would be questionable to categorize callers as minority or majority without subsequent proof².

Another form of quantitative analysis utilized in this study is to examine topics--both in terms of frequency and the types of topics chosen in relation to minorities. van Dijk (1993) argues that topics are another measure or indicator of balance in broadcasting since they demonstrate how the media defines what is

important in news events. "Many studies in several countries have repeatedly shown that news on ethnic affairs usually has a limited number of stereotypical topics" (van Dijk, 1993:248).

The topics found will be outlined in detail in the following section, but it is enough to say for now that topics usually cover negative characteristics and "problems" associated with minorities. This study therefore examines whether or not the CHML Talk Show topics which relate to minorities repeat the patterns found in these other studies.

In terms of the qualitative aspects of this study, what is of interest here is whether or not patterns of prejudice against identifiable minorities exist within the content of the CHML Talk Shows. Allport (1979) has argued that there are several social and psychological components to prejudice, while van Dijk (1993) has asserted that prejudice and racism are power relations where one group dominates another by ways of exclusion, marginalization and subordination.

Although domination can occur in several ways, this section of the study, on the research of Allport (1979), Ginzberg (1985) and van Dijk (1993), identifies three patterns of prejudice that often occur simultaneously. These include 1) negative stereotypes; 2) defense mechanisms; and 3) the incitement of fear and hatred. These identifiable patterns of prejudice were then developed by the researcher into workable codes for this project. After outlining these patterns, the researcher examined the text to see whether or not they were present.

Data

Data for this study was gathered from a sampling of two different programs aired on CHML. The chosen programs were the CHML Talk Shows of "Talk Line" with host Roy Green and "John Hardy Today" with host John Hardy. These shows air on CHML Monday through Friday, excluding holidays, from nine in the morning until Noon for Roy Green and from Noon until four in the afternoon for John Hardy³.

The Sample I was conducted on a random basis by members of the Committee for Conscience in Broadcasting and the Mayor's Race Relations Committee. Several members, in response to community complaints, undertook to monitor and record segments from the CHML talk shows from March 17 to April 30. This sample consists of randomly selected tape recorded shows that either discuss minorities or issues that may be of concern to minorities (ie. employment equity). The purpose in gathering this sample was to determine if there was any substance to the complaints and subsequently if further structured research would be warranted.

After determining that further research was needed, a second sample was collected by this researcher. Sample II covers a time frame from May 9, 1994 until May 27, 1994, excluding the May 23 holiday and May 24 (due to sickness of the researcher). Therefore we are working with thirteen working days of broadcasting within a three week period. Both of the above mentioned Talk Shows were

taped whenever the topics were relevant to minority communities in Ontario⁴.

The sampling was limited to this time frame due to available resources. It was simply beyond the scope of this project to collect a larger sample. The benefits of a larger sample would be that we could assure a greater degree of representativeness and hence generalizability. However, this does not discount the quality research presented here, as the time frame was randomly chosen and the sample selected met the criteria of our research question. Although limited in scope, Sample II is still very useful in illustrating how the radio station dealt with minority issues during this particular time period.

In conjunction with this, the first sample is also reviewed and utilized in the analysis to assess whether any patterns found in the second sample were also apparent in the first. If the same patterns persist over the two samples then we are assured of increased reliability and validity which adds to the strength of the current study.

Findings

Balance

Balance in media representations has been a very important issue over the years. In Canada, the Broadcasting Act ensures that a "balance of information" be provided for by the Canadian broadcasting system. What does the term balance actually mean? For purposes of this study, the term has been defined in two ways. The first is a more traditional understanding of the term which examines the variety of differing views and the frequency in which people as experts and guests⁵ are allowed to voice their viewpoints. In other words we are examining who gets asked to speak on issues that are relevant to minorities. Does the radio station provide opportunities for the expression of differing views on minority matters?

The second way in which balance is measured is in terms of "topics". What is of interest here is not only the frequency in which topics relevant to minorities appear, but also what type of topics are chosen. Types of topics are important for they reflect the ways in which minorities are being portrayed in the media. If for instance, all the topics selected are negative then a biased and unbalanced view of minorities is being presented by the media.

Voices

First we will examine the frequency of minority guests and experts versus non-minority guests and experts appearances on the programs with reference to minority issues. The classification of 'minority', 'majority' or 'other' was based on two criteria. The first is how the guest or expert self-identifies, if they do, and second what issue or topic is being discussed. For instance, if the topic is gay rights and the guest is a self-identified gay activist but is also white, he/she would be classified as minority. However, if the topic is gay rights but a heterosexual woman is speaking, she would be classified as majority. The actual issue, but not what viewpoint is held, is therefore very important to the classification system.

Voices: Sample I and II

Sample I contains in total eight segments of which four segments have seven guests or experts and are therefore utilized. Of these seven guests or experts only one, Mr. Singh Sandu (Former National President of the National Sikh Organization) who appeared on April 7, is classified as a minority guest. He discusses whether or not turbans should be allowed in Legion Halls and explains the significance of turbans to Sikhs.

Of the remaining six guests/experts, four were guests and two were experts (See Table 1). The following three men were classified as majority guests: Rev. Ken Campbell (Minister and anti-gay activist) who appeared April 5; Mr. Roger White (Press Secretary for the Minister of Immigration) who appeared March 17; and Mr. Pat McCormick (President of the Glace Bay Royal Canadian Legion) who appeared April 7. Harry Herman (an immigrant from Germany and former member of the Immigration and Refugee Board) who appeared April 4, was classified as an 'other'⁶ guest.

Rev. Campbell discussed his views that gay and lesbian couples do not constitute a "family" and that they should not be accepted by the wider society, while Pat McCormick presented the Legion's case for banning turbans. Harry Herman discussed Immigration and refugee policy, advocating change due to abuses in the system and Mr. White discussed the Minister's statements that public opinion should not dictate immigration policy.

The two experts were Professor Grant Brown of Lethbridge University and Dr. Martin Loney, policy consultant, who appeared one after the other to discuss employment equity. Both presented the viewpoint that employment equity was negative because it discriminates against able-bodied white men. It should be noted that even though these men assumed the role of "expert" it was never established whether their credentials pertained to, or area of study was actually that of, employment equity.

In Sample II, there were seventeen segments that directly related to minorities or minority issues. Of these seventeen,

only seven segments contained guests. In these seven segments there are ten guests in total, three of whom appear more than once. In fact all three appear in total three times each. These three guests include Michael Leshner, gay activist; Lynn Scime, President of Family Forum; and Mark Marrow MPP. Overall seven of the ten guests were classified as minorities, with only three being classified as majority (see Table 1). However, these numbers do not tell the whole story and must be viewed in conjunction with issues.

Most of the guests appeared on the Shows which had to do with gay and lesbian rights. In covering the issue of gay rights and same-sex spousal benefits, Roy Green did four segments, and, in terms of a variety of perspectives on his Show, "Talk Line", was well balanced.

The first segment aired on May 11 had three guests, John Campy a gay activist; Lynn Scime and Mark Morrow. The second segment aired on May 16 and had one guest, Michael Leshner. The segments on gay rights aired on May 19 and 20 each included Michael Leshner, Lynn Scime and Mark Morrow as guests, while May 20's segment also saw the addition of "Linda", a self-identified lesbian. Both Morrow and Scime were classified as majority guests, while Campy, Leshner and "Linda" were minority guests. Roy Green's show on this issue presented both majority and minority voices as well as differing perspectives.

Other than guests appearing during the to the same-sex benefits segments, there were five other guests who appeared

during the time frame of Sample II. These include Christine Templeton, Past Chair of the Hamilton Status of Women Subcommittee and Ed Santini, Chair of Festitalia in Hamilton, both of whom gave their opinions on the controversy surrounding the "Miss Festitalia" pageant. The issue is therefore whether or not beauty pageants should exist. Templeton was classified as a minority guest who spoke against the pageant and Santini as majority, who supported the pageant.

Two other guests who appeared together were members of L'Association Canadienne Francaise de l'Ontario. M. Laroche and M. Labelle discussed the issue of Francophone rights in Ontario. They outlined the history of their petition to the United Nations to denounce the oppression of Francophone rights in Ontario. The remaining minority guest was Charles Roach, criminal lawyer and Black activist. He discussed his own work against racism and the fight he is waging against the oath of allegiance.

Voices Summary

In the two samples there are twenty-five broadcast segments that pertain to minorities. Of the twenty-five, eleven had experts and guests. All together there were fifteen guests and two experts; eight guests were minority, six guests were majority and one was other, while both experts were majority. From these numbers it would appear that the radio station is actually giving equal time to both minority and majority voices,

however, these guests must be viewed in relation to the chosen topics.

What is apparent is that guests and experts are clustered around certain issues on certain shows. What this means is that most of the guests who spoke were on Roy Green's show and they discussed the issue of same sex benefits. However if you look at the same issue being discussed on John Hardy's show the only guest in both Sample I and II is Rev. Ken Campbell. This imbalance on "John Hardy Today" persisted despite the fact that this issue would appear twice more, allowing ample opportunity to invite minority views on this issue.

Another example of this imbalance of voices is found on the issue of employment equity. The only two experts to appear in both Samples discussed employment equity and both were against it. There are three segments in total on employment equity in the two samples, all on the "John Hardy Today" show, and all with only one viewpoint presented. Here there is no balance or time given to minorities or others who might advocate these programs.

In fact on the April 12, 1994 "John Hardy Today" segment on employment equity, John Hardy justifies the imbalance by stating:

We went through this last summer and we got all manner of Queen's Park underlings scampering around trying to explain, well the focus is Black youth but not only Black youth. Oh yeah, sure, sure. So intentionally we didn't invite any of the underlings to join us on this occasion as it must be round fifteen of this discussion.

Despite it being "round fifteen", Hardy still gives his own opinion without providing a balance on this issue.

There are, however, two other segments which offer a balance of perspectives in terms of a variety of voices for the "John Hardy Today". One is on May 11 when both sides of the "Miss Festitalia" controversy were expressed and the other is April 7 when both sides of the Legion and Sikh controversy were presented together. The April 5 show with the Rev. Ken Campbell was described by John Hardy as an attempt to balance another, previously-aired show where two gay men discussed their lives. The Rev. Campbell was asked to give the "other side" of why we should not accept gay people into society.

In examining the two samples, in terms of whether there is a balance of voices, we can only conclude that the CHML Radio station is inconsistent. What the topic is, and on whose show the topic is presented, influences the range of voices heard on CHML. Sometimes the Talk Shows present a balanced view such as gay rights on "Talk Line", which has also given exclusive air time to minority guests Charles Roach, M. Laroche and M. Labelle, to explain their viewpoints. However, CHML also airs shows on issues such as employment equity on the "John Hardy Today" show where the study finds no balance or variety of voices being offered. Therefore we can conclude that the radio station will provide opportunities for a variety of voices to be heard, but only on selected issues. We can also conclude from the data that balance appears more often on Roy Green's show "Talk Line" than on John Hardy's show "John Hardy Today".

Table 1
Frequency of Voices

	Sample I N=7		Sample II N=10		Total
	Guest	Expert	Guest	Expert	
Minority	1	0	7	0	8
Majority	3	2	3	0	8
Other	1	0	0	0	1
Total	5	2	10	0	17

Table 2
Frequency of Topics

	Sample I N=8	Sample II N=17	Total N=25
<u>Topic Categories</u>			
1) Immigration	2	1	3
2) Crime	1	0	1
3) Cultural Difference as Deviance	2	2	4
4) Ethnic Relations	0	0	0
5) Voices of Complaint	3	10	13
6) Good News Stories	0	0	0
7) Other	0	4	4
Total	8	17	25

Topics

This section of the study examines balance in terms of the topics found in the CHML Talk Show broadcasts. Both the frequency of topics and the types of topics are examined (see Table 2). It is, however, only possible to examine the frequency in which topics occur in Sample II since a complete record of all topics was not kept in Sample I. In total we have seventeen topics in the second sample that relate to minorities out of a possible announced⁷ one hundred topics over the thirteen days. This number does not tell us much other than that a small amount, only 17%, of the topics relate to minorities⁸. What is far more revealing are the types of topics that are presented.

van Dijk (1993) argues that there are typically four types of topics presented on racial and ethnic minorities. Using this as my base I have expanded the codes to include other identifiable minorities. The categories are as follows:

1) Immigration: with special emphasis on problems, illegality, large numbers, fraud and demographic or cultural threats.

2) Crime: with special focus on 'ethnicized' or 'racialized' crimes, such as drug trafficking, mugging, theft, prostitution, hustling, violence, or riots.

3) Cultural differences: especially 'cultural deviance', such as 'backward' habits, religious fundamentalism; all social problems of ethnic relations that are explained in terms of assumed cultural properties of minorities. This also includes perceived minority deviance that explains why problems exist between groups, thus blaming the victim.

4) Ethnic relations: such as ethnic tensions, discrimination, racial attacks and other forms of

(right-wing) racism, usually defined as regrettable incidents and often attributed to the presence or behaviour of minorities themselves, thus blaming the victim.

5) Voices of Complaint: where minority groups are seen as "special interest" groups who only represent themselves and cause "trouble" especially over rights issues. Also affirmative action, employment equity and quotas are major topics, usually defined however as controversial and conflictive. These minority groups are portrayed as always 'asking for something'.

6) Good News Stories: includes positive representations of minority groups that are often called non-topics (for they are rarely covered) such as the arts and entertainment, social issues, education, work issues, success stories, etc.

7) Other: includes stories of minorities that cannot be classified into the above categories.

Topics: Sample I and II

The question becomes whether or not CHML replicates the findings of other studies that show a predominance of negative topics in terms of minority affairs thus perpetuating an unbalanced and biased view of minorities. Out of the twenty-five topics found in both Sample I and II, two segments dealt with immigration and refugees, emphasizing fraud, refugees who are criminals, abuses of the system and numbers of immigrants/refugees. One other segment discussed whether or not immigration policy should be governed by public opinion in order to cut out fraud and reduce the number of immigrants.

The data revealed only one topic from category two. The segment actually dealt with alleged criminal activity of a young

woman, whose ethnicity was repeatedly emphasized. In terms of the third category, where cultural or minority difference is viewed as controversial or problematic, four examples were found. No examples fell under category four.

Category five, Voices of Complaint, revealed the greatest number of topics with thirteen in all. This is due to all but one of the segments (the April 5 show with Rev. Ken Campbell) on same-sex benefits being classified in this category. Category five also includes the segments on employment equity, Francophone rights, and gender inclusive language. All of the above are presented as controversial, problematic and portray groups as "asking for something" and being "unreasonable" in doing so.

There were no topics in category six, Good news stories. Finally there were four topics in Category seven of 'Other'.

Topics Summary

The coding of topics from CHML broadcasts demonstrates that minorities are overwhelmingly represented in a negative way. Minority issues are portrayed as almost always controversial, centering around 'problems' and 'demands' for rights. There are no positive representations in terms of topics nor is there coverage of other issues that may be important to minorities. Also there is very little acknowledgement that there are differences both within designated groups of minorities as well as between groups. In conclusion, it is apparent that an

unbalanced and biased view of identifiable minorities is being presented on both Talk Shows produced by CHML.

Patterns of Prejudice

There are many different types of prejudice, where one group or individual has preconceived or biased forms of thinking and/or behaving toward another individual or group which are not based in fact (Ginzberg, 1985). In determining whether or not patterns of prejudice are present within the content of the Talk Show broadcasts of CHML Radio, the researcher is primarily utilizing the research of Allport (1979) and Ginzberg (1985) who identify several patterns of prejudice that often occur in conjunction with each other. These patterns include:

- 1). Negative Stereotypes.
- 2). Defense Mechanisms.
- 3). The incitement of Fear and Hatred.

It must also be noted that prejudice and racism are not independent of each other. Traditionally racism has been defined as:

a particular form of prejudice where the prejudice is manifested along racial lines. Racism may or may not include a belief that some races are genetically better endowed than others (Ginzberg, 1985: 56).

Although the researcher does not disagree with this definition, we must also recognize that racism is more than a set of beliefs. It is also a form of power relations that exist where one racially defined group dominates another by ways of exclusion, marginalization and subordination (van Dijk, 1993). In this study this view of prejudice also includes discrimination

that occurs against homosexuals, which is defined as homophobia, and prejudice that occurs along gender lines, which is defined as sexism.

Also of importance in this analysis is the work of van Dijk (1993) which helps to further develop the definitions of the above categories, especially in terms of power relations and dominance. These categories are not mutually exclusive as they often appear in tandem with one another. Therefore when giving examples of, for instance, fear and hatred, we may also find negative stereotypes.

Negative Stereotypes

"Stereotypes are gross, over-generalized beliefs associated with a group of persons" (Ginzberg, 1985: 9). The presence of stereotypes helps people to justify their behaviour or conduct in relation to that group of persons. For example, people often use stereotypes to justify their dislike for certain groups of people. "I hate Jews. They're all corrupt" or "I can't stand Indians, because they're all lazy". These are examples of stereotypes in action.

Also these stereotypes can help to legitimate discriminatory behaviour, for if we believe that all Blacks are criminal by nature then why would we listen to, or act on, claims of injustice and racism in certain police behaviour. In this way people can minimize minority group claims of discrimination and continue to exclude them based on gross generalizations. It should be remembered that although stereotypes can be either favourable or unfavourable toward a certain group, they are nevertheless substitutions for actual knowledge about that group.

The following data are excerpts⁹ taken from CHML broadcasts that present negative stereotypical images of minorities.

Gays and Lesbians: Sick and Perverse

Example 1.

April 5, 1994-- "John Hardy Today"-- Guest: Rev. Ken

Campbell Topic: Whether or not homosexuals should be accepted in the wider society.

{Guest--...And I say that's how deeply I feel about the threat...The militant homosexual agenda as being horribly menacing to the stability of democracy... To put it bluntly in biblical terms--militant wickedness is just that. It's got an agenda and it's pursuing it with intensity...our children are being destroyed by this and our schools.}

{Caller--...what we are standing up for is that we do not want those individuals to dictate to us...how we are to accept this kind of lifestyle as normal for our children.}

{Guest--...no matter how complex may be the contributing factors to either one being an alcoholic or one being homosexual or whatever the orientation may be which is abnormal...No matter what complex cause of those inclinations, we should identify destructive as destructive and seek by the Grace of God to move forward to wholeness.}

Example 2.

March 17, 1994--"John Hardy Today"--Topic: The cancellation

of the St.Patrick's Day Parade in Boston.

{Caller--These are gender-challenged people and they should devote more time to research in eradicating this problem in the human being. It's a genetic problem and scientists and those kind of people should devote more time in curing it.}

{Caller--I think they cancelled it 'cause the minority kept pushing and pushing...prove to us that it won't be a lot of repulsive showmanship...}

{Caller--Irish people have always believed in fairies (laughter)...It seems like a lot of minority groups are, you know, seem to be sticking their noses into tradition...}

{Caller--Their [homosexuals] behaviour in public is lewd. I don't want my children exposed to this complete glorification of the genitalia.}

Example 3.

May 19, 1994--"John Hardy Today"--Topic: Editorial stating that the issue of same-sex benefits has received too much attention.

{Host--Two men want to play house, fine. Two women want to play house, ok. Doesn't fizz on me either way frankly. But don't make a daring, sensualised decision to flaunt your private life and then expect special treatment in return. And for some mouthy gay and lesbian activists who try to make the offensive analogy between gay and lesbian rights and history's shameful oppression of blacks and Jews, those jerks should be charged with cultural slander and libel.}

{Caller--And they make a mockery of the family unit, like they're doing today. And they're flaunting and defying common sense, in favour of nonsense political agendas.}

Example 4.

May 20, 1994--"Talk Line"--Guests: Lynn Scime; Mark Marrow; Michael Leshner; "Linda". Topic: Same-Sex spousal benefits.

{Caller-- You are not a woman and you are not a man! [in addressing Michael Leshner, gay activist].}

{Caller--"And besides, I hold them [homosexuals] fully responsible for the spread of AIDS in the world".}

These examples from the shows present an image of gays and lesbians as abnormal, gender-challenged (presumably because they are neither men nor women), pushy, mouthy, repulsive showmen with no common sense who destroy tradition, mock the family, are no different than alcoholics and only play at relationships. There are several more negative stereotypes that are present in the broadcasts. These include: immoral; not decent; perverse; sick; terrible examples for children; pedophile.

In referring to gays and lesbians as "sick" and "perverse", people who use these stereotypes help to justify their own dislike of and legitimate their discrimination against a minority. By labelling people in this negative way, it delegitimizes any grievance or claim of inequality made by the minority group. Simply stated: how could such deviant and immoral people be equal to the "normal" majority? And besides, it's okay to treat them this way because we have defined them as "bad". These negative stereotypes are examples of homophobia.

Furthermore, these stereotypes deny the motives of gay rights groups while ascribing their motives to their "wickedness" and "hidden agenda". This "agenda" is sometimes not revealed by those who advocate this conspiracy theory but is understood to be about undermining democracy and perhaps making everybody gay as they "take over" the seats of power.

Visible Minorities, Immigrants and Refugees: Substandard people who receive "special treatment".

Negative stereotypes of racial and ethnic groups are a form of racism. What is particularly interesting about the content of the samples of the CHML broadcasts is how careful the Hosts are, if possible, not to identify individual groups of people such as Blacks or Arabs or Pakistanis when discussing issues. This is not always the case, however, as they will identify groups when it appears unavoidable. For example they named the Sikhs in the controversy over whether the Legion would allow Sikhs to wear turbans into Legion Halls as well as naming Francophones in Ontario who were fighting for certain rights.

What is more common in these two samples is the homogenization of people into the all encompassing terms of "Visible Minority" or "Immigrant/Refugee". Instead of targeting any particular group, often what was found in the data was that everyone whose skin colour is not white is targeted as getting "special treatment" under employment equity for example. As well, anyone who is from "somewhere" else is seen as outside the "majority" of Canadians and thus "immigrant/refugee" becomes a racial/ethnic category. Thus the media utilizes a more sophisticated level of racism since they are using official categories that name no individual group. The racism is more

subtle and open to debate whereas slang terminology and racial slurs are blunt and more obvious.

Example 5.

March 22, 1994--"John Hardy Today"--Guest Host: Bill Kelly.

Topic: Employment Equity and the replacement of contract workers most of whom were veterans.

{Caller--I think that what's going to happen with this situation is these people who they're picking on now they fought for this country they give their life up or they put their life on the line and now their trying to give [the jobs] to a minority that came from another country. I have a problem with that.}

{Caller--Contract or not, it should be put up for like a tender not for visible minorities. It should be [that] anyone have a chance to get the job on their premises, you know. But I just don't think it's right. You're not going to see the visible minority running off to war for Canada.}

Example 6.

April 12, 1994--"John Hardy Today"--Expert: Dr. M. Loney

Topic: Employment Equity.

{Expert--It seems to me clear from looking at these figures that if you were an able-bodied white male looking for a job in this office, you don't have a prayer. They're simply not interested, you're not the kind of person that they have in mind for a job. It's not merit, it's simply a characteristic you can't change unless you want an expensive and painful operation.}

Example 7.

May 13, 1994--"John Hardy Today"--Guest Host: Doug Farraway.

Topic: Employment Equity in the Toronto Fire Dept.

{Host--You'll just love to hear what they're doing to white, anglo saxon males, well, who just happen to be the best qualified. We'll stop hiring fire fighters based on test scores, heck no, we don't want the very best do we? Yeah, we want to give women and minorities a better chance at these jobs.}

{Caller--...My personal opinion on the matter is that when it comes to firemen, if it's my wife and family that are in a house on fire I want the biggest guy going up to get them. Not some wispy little sucker that can't even pick up the end of the hose.}

Host--Height and width and so on doesn't have anything to do with that, they've got to pass physical tests. If they pass the physical tests then they're the top twenty in the group and only twenty jobs are available, who should get the jobs?

Caller--The top..

Host--Sure,

Caller--Not target groups or visible minorities or females or anybody else but the best possible candidates for the job. And I think that Bob Rae and his government should smarten up and even the Councilors in the Communities because they're the ones footing the bills, the tax payers and were having to pay for these people that are, as far as I'm concerned a substandard product because Bob says that we have to take them..}

{Caller--I got to give to the City of Toronto when it comes to screwball ideas like they've got a monopoly on 'em. But this is just absolutely marvelous, I guess in some areas of the City they'll just have a gay fire dept. in other areas it'll be an Asian fire dept., where nobody is more than four foot eleven or something like this.}

Example 8.

May 25, 1994--"Talk Line". Guests: M. Laroche and M.

Labelle. Topic: Franco-Ontarian rights.

{Host--What they want is Francophone services in the province of Ontario.

Caller--That's what they want?

Host--Yes

Caller--If they get them would they be satisfied?
They're never satisfied so far.}

In terms of stereotypes of visible minorities, according to two callers, they are all from other countries and they would never go to war for Canada. Not only do these stereotypes deny the fact that many people of colour are born in this country and many more are citizens, it also negates the contribution of those minorities who fought in Canadian wars.

In terms of stereotypes in the employment equity segments, the image of visible minorities presented here is one where they get jobs because of special treatment rather than merit and therefore are not the best candidates for the job. They are also seen as being physically "unfit" and hence "substandard".

The last segment on Franco-Ontarian rights demonstrates a negative stereotype that targets a particular group. Here Francophones are characterized as never being satisfied. The implication being that Anglophones have been more than generous but no matter how much they are willing to give, the Francophones will never be happy and will always want more. The use of this

type of stereotype helps to justify inaction in terms of Francophone grievances.

Another example of negative stereotyping on CHML broadcasts is found in relation to immigrants and refugees.

Example 9.

April 4, 1994--"Talk Line". Topic: Immigration and Refugee

Policy in Canada.

{Host--What we have here are legitimate refugees languishing in refugee camps all over the world and they don't have the means to get to Canada. Canada isn't actively searching them out but people who in fact do have the means to get to Canada, who may be law breakers or economic refugees from anywhere in the world--they get here, they avail themselves of protection under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms for Canadians and so their application is processed at our cost. Wonderful.}

Example 10.

May 27, 1994--"Talk Line". Topic: Netherlands Refugee

Policy.

{Host--...the concerns that we have in this country about the numbers of refugees who enter Canada by queue jumping and then take advantage of the system that is very generous here, including allowing those who are convicted of crimes in Canada to claim or at least petition for refugee status when their sentences end...In this country over the past thirty years we've gotten away from what we used to do and that is to go to the camps and find the people who need the assistance and bring them here...There are too many people who are entering this country as refugees. Who have no reason to enter this country as refugees...You can arrive from Switzerland with your Gucci luggage, wearing your Armani suit and five hundred dollar shoes and have your...Rolex on your wrist and you could come in and say 'I'm a refugee'. And automatically you are now going to be processed. Meanwhile you've got people

in other parts of the world who are starving in refugee camps who can't get out and can't get here.}

This study and its researcher do not deny that there are several problems with the Canadian immigration and refugee policies. However, the debate as to what constitutes these problems and the possible solutions need not and should not include these types of negative stereotypes. Host Roy Green reiterates in three different segments on immigration and refugee policies that he has nothing against legitimate refugees and that immigration benefits Canada. Nevertheless he offers gross generalizations that leave the listener with the impression that people who get to Canada are not refugees at all because the real refugees are still in camps throughout the world.

Green also stereotypes all refugees as poor and starving because if one arrives in expensive clothes you are obviously an "illegitimate" refugee. He obviously does not understand that the category of refugee is not based on economics but rather on persecution.

Positive Stereotypes

Whites: The Generous Canadians

Whites are also presented in a stereotypical manner. However, the stereotype is, for the most part, a positive one.

Example 11.

March 17, 1994 "Talk Line". Topic: Minister's statement that public opinion should not dictate immigration policy.

{Host-- we [Canadians] are a generous people and we have nothing against immigration to Canada. We understand immigration works...What causes problems is perception. And without the numbers [specific immigration figures] perception can be anything anybody wants it to be...This sort of story--a \$100 million fund to bring family members over...gets people upset.}

Example 12.

May 13, 1994--"John Hardy Today"--Guest Host: Doug Farraway.

Topic: Employment Equity.

{Host--This new plan will choose fire fighters from two pools of qualified fire fighters target group which is women and visible minorities and non-target and they would do it by lottery. Guess who is in the non-target? Well the best qualified fire fighters, but they happen to be white males.}

{Caller--...My son was passed over because he happened to be in a majority. He was passed over for a minority, even though he was more qualified.

Host--What was he going after?

Caller--A police officer. And he was told at the police too bad you are what you are. Or you would be on to the next step.

Host--And I assume he's a white male?

Caller-- Oh, yeah. He's white, male six foot three, just the kind of cop you would love to have rescue you if you were in a situation. Strong, but he was told that-- that's too bad you're a white male.}

Whites, especially white men, are presented as generous Canadians who are always the best or more qualified for jobs, not to mention being the kind of guys who would rescue you. The only negative reference to Whites was found in the March 17, 1994 Talk Line segment when a caller stated the following:

{Caller--We're in so much debt people feel that they're being taken for suckers. I don't hear people exclaiming that we're generous. They're sick of being generous. They feel like they've been taken for suckers...}

Even though the characterization is negative it is nevertheless in response to "other" people; those refugees and immigrants who keep taking advantage of Whites' wonderful nature. The image of Whites stands in marked contrast to non-White (usually referred to as immigrants and refugees). Implicit in this view is that no other culture or non-White person has as great an intrinsic value as White Canadians (Ginzberg, 1985).

As Ginzberg suggests, completeness also requires that the content of the CHML broadcasts be examined for positive stereotypes of minorities. Besides Roy Green's repeated statements that immigration benefits the country and hence by implication immigrants are beneficial, there was only one other example of a positive image. This was an image of love,

stability and family in terms of gay couples that guest Michael Leshner tried to use to counter the arguments of Callers.

Stereotypes Summary:

In examining Sample I and II of CHML Talk Show broadcasts in which identifiable minorities are represented or in the presentation of issues that concern minorities, there are many negative references to gays and lesbians and to non-White minorities¹⁰. On the other hand, White Anglo-Saxons (often characterized as Canadians) were presented in a much more positive light. Although there were positive representations of minorities they were few in comparison to the negative versions. These Shows are therefore far from balanced.

It should also be noted that although most of the derogatory statements came from Callers expressing their opinions, Hosts, as well as Experts and Guests, also had a share in expressing these stereotypes. For the most part, these examples are unsubstantiated opinions and statements leaving the listener with no means of evaluating the validity of such statements. As discussed earlier, prejudices exist in a pattern. The patterns of prejudice and racism are demonstrated in negative stereotypes that justify inaction or help to delegitimize the grievances of a group. Accompanying this negativity is "an exaggerated belief in the superiority of one's own group" (Ginzberg, 1985: 31). It is apparent that such a pattern of prejudice exists across the two samples of CHML Talk Show segments.

Defense Mechanisms

According to Ginzberg, many people generally feel uncomfortable in expressing prejudicial beliefs and attitudes. This is especially true, if they also believe that holding prejudicial beliefs is socially unacceptable. In an attempt to reconcile these two beliefs people will often resort to defense mechanisms. These mechanisms, however, are another expression of their prejudices.

There are generally two types of defense mechanisms. The first consists of repression or denial of the problem of prejudice. To deny that a problem exists is to forestall the upheaval and turmoil it could cause for both the individual and the community (Allport, 1954: 334). The second aspect or type of defense mechanism is rationalization. These types of mechanisms seek to give validity to the prejudices an individual holds by marshalling evidence to support them.

These rationalizations often take several different forms which includes 'universality', where it's alright to be prejudiced because everyone is prejudiced. Another form is 'shifting the blame', where individuals when confronted with their prejudice often shift the blame to the accuser or to the victim. A form of this 'shifting of blame' is also known as scapegoating, where the cause of problems are displaced from their true source to particular persons (Ginzberg, 1985: 63).

A third form of rationalization is 'bifurcation'. Here an individual makes an attempt to disclaim prejudice against a particular group by stating an exception to that prejudice. The common statement heard in this regard are "some of my best friends are..." or as another example, "I don't have anything against Sikhs, it's just the violent ones who are terrible". In analyzing the content of CHML Talk Show broadcasts there is evidence of several of the defense mechanisms.

Denial:

Example 13.

March 22, 1994--"John Hardy Today"-- Guest Host: Bill Kelly.

Topic: Employment Equity.

{Host-- Where what happens often times government policies fuel these fires...They [the government] formulate a policy that pits one group against another and when that happens they have the audacity to turn around and say that there is racism evident in this province.}

Example 14.

April 12, 1994--"John Hardy Today"--Expert: Prof. Brown.

Topic: Employment Equity.

{Expert--What statistians find is that the level of pay that women earn compared to men, fluctuates with the birth rate, not with discrimination or anything like that.}

Example 15.

May 13, 1994--"John Hardy Today"-- Guest Host: Doug

Farraway. Topic: Employment Equity.

{Host--That public safety in this issue, has a greater precedence than some societal wish by some groups in our Ontario, in our communities to rectify some situation which they believe exists--that they believe could be discrimination, which in fact has nothing to do with discrimination but has to do with qualifications for a job...}

{Caller--I am outraged! I am sick and tired of all this. It has been going on ever since Bob Rae came into power. And it is getting worse. He is turning our society into racists. None of us were before, and as

far as employment goes I have spoken to both Roy and John about this, why can't any position be selected from the most qualified?}

What all three of these examples on employment equity demonstrate is a pattern of denial. In the first segment the host denies that any racism exists in Ontario by blaming government policy for tensions between groups. In the second, the Expert denies that pay differences are a result of discrimination but are rather the result of biological fact: the birth rate. Although he claims that "statisticians" have proven this "fact" he does not substantiate his argument. In the final segment, a guest host also denies that discrimination exists in job hiring and a Caller blames Bob Rae for causing racism in the province.

All of these examples therefore deny the causes for implementing employment equity programs and hence justify their position against the programs. In addition, both the Experts and the Hosts fail to address any of the evidence that supports employment equity as a way to combat discrimination in the labour market. They are making claims without any evidence to support their positions. Again, the listener is left without both sides of the issue and no way to verify what he/she has heard.



Rationalizations

This type of defense mechanism helps people to validate their prejudices and justify their discriminatory behaviour. Often times these mechanisms are used as a way to "protect" oneself from the accusation of being called prejudiced or racist. An example of this is "bifurcation". This is an attempt to disclaim prejudice against a group by stating an exception to that prejudice. Here is one example from the CHML radio segments:

Example 16.

March 17, 1994--"John Hardy Today"--Topic: The cancellation of the St. Patrick's Day Parade in Boston.

{Host--...You at least acknowledge that gays and lesbians are part of society?

Caller--Oh yeah, I have a few friends that are gay and I honestly believe that it is a small percentage of gay people who are the loudmouths. Again like an elite minority.

Host--As with anything else; organized labour and then some.

Caller--Exactly. It's the exact same thing. The people, my friends that I know would not be involved in any type of debate like this.}

Another form of the defense mechanism as a pattern of prejudice is "universality". People use this mechanism to justify their believes and actions of discrimination because either it "exists everywhere" or "everyone discriminates" so it's okay to behave in this manner while justifying inaction or the

unwillingness to deal with complaints of discrimination. The following is an example of this mechanism from the CHML segments:

Example 17.

May 13, 1994--"John Hardy Today"--Guest Host: Doug Farraway.

Topic: Employment Equity in the Toronto Fire Dept.

{Caller--I don't care what country on the face of planet earth you go to, there is racism. It's a reality, an unfortunate reality of the human existence however you cannot rectify individual person's racism, racist thoughts and feelings, by putting across something carte blanche which imposes another racist view.}

The implication of this statement is that racism is simply part of human existence and cannot be solved thereby justifying inaction and supporting the person's position against employment equity.

By far the most frequent form of defense mechanism that appears in the CHML broadcasts is 'shifting the blame' or scapegoating. This mechanism consists of 'blaming the victim', where the person being discriminated against is imputed to have caused the discrimination through their own actions or presence, as well as denying the actual cause of the prejudice. This mechanism therefore helps people to justify their own prejudices.

This mechanism is manifested in the radio segments mostly through discussing the "backlash" that minorities will face either due to their own actions or through the actions of the provincial government. The gist of the argument is that certain "vocal" minorities bring the "wrath" of 'the majority' down upon

themselves and therefore 'the majority' is perfectly justified in their anger and their discrimination against these groups and/or the provincial government.

Example 18.

March 17, 1994--"John Hardy Today"--Topic: The cancellation of the St. Patrick's Day Parade in Boston.

{Caller--...it's doing them a detriment, by trying to throw themselves up in people's faces as much as they do.

Host--You mean it's backfiring?

Caller--Exactly. There's a backlash now. Just read "The Spectator" opinion poll yesterday, you'll see what a terrific backlash there is against this kind of up front, stick it in your nose attitude, which they have.}

Example 19.

March 22, 1994--"John Hardy Today"--Guest Host: Bill Kelly.

Topic: Employment Equity.

{Host--And too often what happens as a result, is there's a backlash and that's to be expected, right?

Caller--Uh, uh.

Host--But the backlash invariably goes toward the people who are involved in this and not to the people who formulated the policy.}

{Host--Of course, there's going to be backlash to this. Of course, people are going to be upset. And you know what's going to happen? There going to start to get upset with these visible minorities. And it's not their fault. }

{Host--Listen, if I'm out of work and somebody comes along and says I've got a job situation here that you may be interested in, I've got a family to feed, of

course I'm going to look into it. Of course I'm going to pursue that avenue.

Caller--You'd be foolish not to pursue it.

Host--Of course. But you know what's going to happen? People are going to start looking at that and saying there goes those visible minorities again jumping all over us.

Caller--It's a shame because they're wonderful people that come to our country.

Host--Exactly, exactly. But you get a government policy like this that pits one group against another, of course there's going to be resentment. If you have a husband or a father or an uncle, who's in this position and he's being booted out of his job because they want to replace them with a visible minority, of course you're going to be upset and of course you're probably going to vent your frustration at one of those minorities. When in fact it's a government policy that's at the root of this problem.}

Example 20.

April 12, 1994--"John Hardy Today"--Expert: Prof. Brown
Topic: Employment Equity.

{Host--Which brings us to the big question, and we wonder how Professor Grant Brown feels the realities of the backlash concept. Can it happen? Will it happen? Is it inevitable? In fact, has it already begun?

Expert-- I guess the thing that I'm most surprised about is that the backlash hasn't been very strong yet. I expect it's growing.}

The following two quotes from John Hardy are in response to a caller who called in to support employment equity:

{Host--Are you willing to take this government inspired backlash that is going to be a guaranteed part of this master plan? Are you willing to take that?}

{Host--One final question for you sir, right from my kitchen table. Are you willing to put all this commotion on the shoulders of your kids and my kids. Because up until last night when my son was listening

to the news on CHML, heard the Premier of Ontario assure minority youth--he could have said youth of Ontario--minority youth don't worry you will have a job. My majority youth said how come? And I said I don't know. He doesn't feel too good about minority youth all of a sudden.}

In using this type of rationalization, one can blame minorities for the backlash of the majority or the government must shoulder the blame for actually creating resentment and anger. People's own racism and prejudice, as well as their fears, are never mentioned as the possible cause of their reaction against employment equity or minority group petitions for equality.

Incitement of Fear and Hatred

Fear is a reaction to actual or perceived loss or the threat of loss. If fear is felt long enough it may develop into resentment and hatred directed against those who are perceived as being the source of the loss or threatened loss (Ginzberg, 1985). Although a somewhat simplified description of what fear and hatred are, this definition is enough to give us an understanding of the serious nature of the relationship of loss, fear and hatred on a societal level.

There is ample evidence of the incitement of fear in CHML broadcasting. This is especially the case in the segments on employment equity, where the theme of loss is repeated again and again. Identifiable minorities threaten the security and especially the job security of the majority group. Here are a few examples:

Example 21.

March 22, 1994--"John Hardy Today"--Guest Host: Bill Kelly.

{Host--...And it says and I'm quoting here from the article, it says in accordance with our employment equity goals for this occupation applicants are particularly encouraged from aboriginal peoples, persons with disabilities, and visible minorities. And what does that tell you if you're looking for a job...

Caller--If I'm white I'm not going to get it.

Host--Essentially, that's seems to be the feeling that an awful lot of people have. Is that, when they say that they are encouraging those groups, is that not in a backhanded way saying that if you don't fit into that category, don't bother us?}

{Caller--Some people have been working for so many years and now they want to cut them off and give their job to somebody else? It doesn't make sense.}

Example 22

April 12, 1994--"John Hardy Today"--Experts: Dr. Loney and Prof. Brown.

{Host--...I want to tell you right up front, I will and have taken every opportunity I think I can find to prove to you that this sham of employment equity is insulting, it's a rip off, it's a raw deal; it's more of a disadvantage than an advantage and every chance we get to reinforce that and keep bringing to you proof of it, we will do it...And Dr. Loney says that able-bodied white males clearly face systemic discrimination and are excluded from employment, close quote. We'll get Dr. Loney to give us his facts and figures and prove and back up that comment...}

{Expert (Brown)--...Well originally, most of this legislation was aimed at eliminating discrimination on the basis of race and sex and so on. But of course as it evolved the people who advocated those policies didn't get the results they wanted and so now they actively advocate discriminating against certain people on the basis of race and sex, namely white able-bodied males. So it's come full circle and reversed itself from what the original intention of the legislation was.}

{Host--Professor Brown I would imagine that most small, mid-size and even some giant employers are really looking after their backsides and they're running scared. They know the onus of employment equity and they'd better tow the line or else. And they don't want to take the chance of the or else, do they?}

Expert (Brown)- Ah, no. Well, the fines that are to be imposed by Ontario are quite serious. I think a \$50,000 fine can be imposed if they don't meet the Ontario government's idea of what numbers they should have in terms of women and visible minorities and so on. They can have an employment equity plan imposed on them by a tribunal, not even a court of law or anything like that just a tribunal that's been set up by the Ontario

government. So they are subject to severe penalties and many of them are just willing to hire by quota rather than risk those dangers.}

{Host--...back with Dr. Martin Loney, who is a consultant in social policy and he has picked on among other things, one of our pet topics this sham, what I call a sham and that's just my opinion frankly... The sham of employment equity, it doesn't work; it can not work. We heard from the professor out in Lethbridge University he says it's a national problem. Dr. Loney you have focused your attention really on the province of Ontario and how it clearly, what you call systematically discriminates. How is this allowed to continue when they want us to tow the line, they want private sector employers to tow the line and they are blatantly breaking their own laws?

Expert (Loney)-- Well, they're not breaking their own laws of course, because it's ok to discriminate against white males; they're not a designated group. Now under Bill 79. it's not possible to employ too few able-bodied white males; it's only possible to employ too many.

H-- So when it comes to white males, there's no such thing as being under quota?

E- Right....}

{Expert (Loney)--I think the reality the only thing that Bob Rae's promising is a \$50 billion addition to the provincial debt. But what he is doing is engaging in very, very divisive and dangerous racial politics because what he's doing is essentially saying that he's going to tip the playing field in favour of some groups in society against others. And if he thinks the other groups are going to stand on the side lines while they're denied jobs, even though they may be better qualified and applaud. I mean he's dreaming. He's in fact playing in very dangerous waters indeed.}

Example 23.

May 13, 1994--John Hardy Today--Guest Host: Doug Farraway.

{Host--...only the best should be hired to be fire fighters. For it is a rigorous, demanding job... the situations, the scenes they are placed in day in and day out. They don't know what danger, they don't know

what danger lurks at the end of a phone call to an emergency. You want only the very best arriving at your door. Don't you?...Well, do you think this [employment equity] is a crock? Do you think you're public safety is now in danger? Or do you agree with the basic principle of opening up recruitment procedures that allow women and visible minorities more chances in fields they choose to be candidates in? Is it a good principle in fact here? Am I misguided? Am I off the tracks? Am I a neanderthal? Or is public safety at heart, the only issue that can be described and discussed when we talk about fire safety, even police safety? Do we want quotas in Ontario? Or the best qualified?}

{Host--Do you think, as I have suggested, that if this goes through in Toronto, which it more than likely will due to the placement of certain officials on this committee, that this is only the beginning. That soon Hamilton, Kitchener, Windsor, Sault St. Marie, all of these departments will have to follow all of these practices. And your fire fighters and your police persons--notice how politically correct I can be-- all of these people will be chosen by a lottery.}

Within these segments on employment equity, the theme that Whites, and especially white able-bodied males, are being discriminated against while minorities enjoy an advantage at the costs of Whites, is pervasive. According to these segments on CHML, White men are not only losing their jobs but they can not even be considered for certain jobs because of employment equity. Here we see clear evidence of inciting fear due to a perceived loss of security.

It is interesting to note that the Host in the March 22 segment displaces his own opinion by referring to "an awful lot of people" who feel the same way about employment equity. This disclaimer is completely unsupported by any evidence and hence does not prove anything.

The other prevalent theme in these segments is the "threat" and "danger" that employment equity poses to public safety. Not only will White people be losing their jobs, but they may also lose their homes not to mention their lives. Again, the provincial government becomes the scapegoat as they are blamed for creating divisions between people while "playing in dangerous waters". Racism in society is once again denied and the "threat" of minorities to White security is reinforced.

Conclusion

The research question in this study was as follows:

Is there evidence of prejudice and racism in the representation of identifiable minorities or in the presentation of issues that concern minorities (especially racial and ethnic minorities) in the Talk Show broadcasts of CHML Radio?

Balance

There were several ways in which this researcher set out to answer this question. In terms of balance in the CHML Radio broadcasts I examined the variety and frequency of Voices as well as the frequency and type of topics that related to minority communities. It can be concluded that CHML Radio was inconsistent in providing a balance of perspectives and a variety of voices on certain issues. It was found that both the topic presented and on which show the segment aired influenced whether or not a balanced perspective was offered. For instance, there were some segments that offered a well balanced approach such as the gay rights issue on "Talk Line" and then there were other instances, such as the employment equity segments on "John Hardy Today" in which there was no balance or variety. The Station needs to address this inconsistency in order to fulfill its mandate under the Canadian Broadcasting Act.

The representation of minorities and issues of concern to minority communities in terms of the topics presented on CHML

was consistently negative. These issues were portrayed as controversial, centering around 'problems' and 'demands' for rights. An unbalanced and biased view of minorities was evident in the two samples. Therefore listeners of CHML Radio are not presented with a balanced set of opinions or perspectives regarding minorities.

Patterns of Prejudice

The three patterns of prejudice are found across both samples. This clearly shows that prejudice and racism were not merely isolated events but part of a series of events over the time frame of the samples. Callers, Experts, Guests and Hosts participated in these patterns; however, in terms of negative stereotypes, Callers by far used the most derogatory images. In the examples given of defense mechanisms all participants appear to equally contribute to the construction of the pattern, while the Hosts, with the help of the Experts and some Callers, were most often involved in the incitement of fear and hatred.

In all fairness, it must be mentioned that Guests, Callers and at times even the Hosts, presented alternative perspectives (or the other side) of the issue. As Well, some positive things were said about minorities; however, these exceptions do not negate the presence of the patterns of prejudice.

This researcher is concerned that this report not be interpreted as a call for censorship of the Station. Instead social issues should be debated in a balanced manner with a

variety of perspectives being heard. Clearly, minorities may be referred to without the use of negative stereotypes and issues concerning minorities may be discussed without scapegoating and the incitement of fear and hatred. In this way the media's own self-proclaimed "objective" stance may be maintained while fulfilling it's responsibilities to the Communities it purportedly serves.

Endnotes

1. Although the Station may not directly control who calls into the Shows, the Hosts do seem to wield influence as the majority of Callers agree with the Host whenever they express opinions. Many times the Host sets up a segment with a question and then asks if Callers agree or disagree. Despite this veiled attempt at neutrality, many times the topics are introduced in such a way as to present only one view or perspective hence setting the tone of the segment. This does not deny that there are also callers who disagree with the Hosts' perspectives, however most callers do agree and many will call to reinforce and support the Hosts.

An example of this "setting of the tone" is taken from the March 17, 1994 "John Hardy Today" with John Hardy as Host. The topic is whether or not gays and lesbians should be able to participate in the Boston St. Patrick's Day Parade. This is the set up before any calls are taken:

Host---...What do you think is right? Do you think in the 1990's the gay and lesbian groups have every right to demand representation in the St. Patrick's Day Parade? Or do you side with the Legion, the organizers of this legendary (emphasized) parade when they say No Way! No way to the point where they've done the ultimate--instead of caving-in they've cancelled the whole parade.

Subsequently, every caller agreed with the Legion against allowing gays and lesbians in the Parade. The Host conveys his own viewpoint in two ways. The first is by emphasizing how "legendary" the Parade is and then associating it with the organizers; the Legion who are in fact cast as the "good guys". Also Hardy's choice of words in describing events further slants the segment in favour of the Legion by inferring that they stood up and said "No Way!" to the demand of the gays and lesbians and therefore they did not "cave-in". What if Hardy had described events in terms of the gay rights group asking or requesting to participate? Or what if the Legion was cast as denying a person's civil rights rather than as legendary defenders who never caved-in? The tone of the segment would obviously be entirely different.

The Hosts' choice of words therefore play an important role in influencing who may call into the Show as most callers tend to call if they agree rather than disagree. The point of this is not that the Host shouldn't have an opinion but that it should be balanced by a guest or expert, on the other side of the debate, in order to provide a variety of perspectives.

2. Even though the frequency of different callers is not utilized in this analysis, in terms of categorizing them as minority or majority, their words are still part of the analysis of patterns of prejudice as the station can control what goes out over the air waves. They may not control what callers say but they are responsible for allowing callers to be heard.
3. Apparently the time of these shows have only recently been changed around, although I am unsure of when this change occurred.
4. It should be noted here that the researcher chose to limit the topics to minority affairs within Ontario. Therefore segments dealing with Quebec were excluded from analysis.
5. For purposes of this study, a guest is defined as someone invited on the show to represent their own opinion or represent the opinions of a group for which they may claim to be a spokesperson based on leadership or official status within the group. An expert is someone deemed to have expertise in a field based on study and credentials.
6. Mr. Herman is classified as other in this study. Although he could be a minority in terms of being an immigrant, he does belong to the dominant white group and has had the power and prestige of sitting on the government Board. He certainly isn't speaking as an immigrant but as a former Board member and as such I have classified him as other.
7. What I mean by this being "announced" topics is that at the beginning of each show the hosts announce what the topics for the day are. However, there were a few occasions in which not all topics were discussed or in which some were thrown in at the last moment, which might slightly change the outcome of this percentage but not by any significant amount.
8. There are many regular features such as home repairs, doctor's advice, legal advice etc. that make up a great deal of the other 83% of the programming.
9. Brackets { } indicate where a particular excerpt begins and ends. In other words, there may be one excerpt from a caller and then another caller but they do not follow one another in the sequence of the transcript unless they are contained within the same set of brackets.
10. By far there were many more incidences pertaining to gays and lesbians. This is no doubt due to the number of segments in regard to same-sex benefits and the impending legislation.

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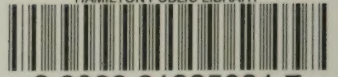
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